4: Allen H-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

The predominance of the non-Ukrainian elements in the organs of administration and in educational institutions is of course explained by the fact that the Ukrainian people remained overwhelmingly peasant, and there had been in the nineteenth century, and even earlier, a large and heterogeneous alien element in the towns. Nevertheless Kaganovich, in his speech to the Ukrainian Congress of Soviets in 1927, was at pains to demonstrate the success of 'ukrainization'. 'Among us', he said with that graceful Jewish facility for identifying himself with the people among whom he had come, 'our Ukrainian culture has developed on a grand scale. Ukrainian culture has made such progress in all branches in these last years that even the most eager Ukrainian nationalists never dreamed of such rapid development. In primary schools Ukrainians are taught by Ukrainians in the Ukrainian language. The high schools are gradually becoming completely "ukrainized"; Ukrainian books and press are at present developing to an extent unknown in all the history of the Ukraine. In our Council of People's Commissars, which is the supreme administrative organ of our government, 13 out of 20 members are Ukrainian. In our Party's Executive Committee, 66 per cent are Ukrainians, 25 per cent are Russians, 14 per cent are Jews.'

Kaganovich's emphasis on the predominance of Ukrainians on the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party is, of course, meaningless, since in the Soviet hierarchy all power is vested in the Secretaries of the various regional and local Committees of the Communist Party, who are themselves responsible not to the members of the Committees but to the Secretary of the Central Executive Committee. Stalin filled this latter position, and Kaganovich himself was his nominee sent from Moscow with complete power over the regional and local Committees in the Ukraine. Kaganovich's successor, 'the dictator' Postyshev, who only occupied the position of 2nd Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party, was another importation from Moscow—as is Khrushchov, who is at present (1939) governing the Ukraine.

While Kaganovich was praising 'the achievements of "ukrainization"' he was already considering means of putting some limit on these achievements. In this same year when he made his genial speech before the Ukrainian Congress of Soviets, the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party under his influence issued a decree making Russian the second official language in the Ukraine. The First Five Year Plan was then beginning, and one of the most important features of this Plan was the wide development of industry in the Ukraine. The coal and metallurgical industries

4: Allen H-4 (no date) 1941 RDI Ukraine RDI

665 178 191

were to be modernized, and the construction of the great power station of Dnieprostroy was in view. Thousands of engineers, technicians and specialized workers were being sent into the Ukraine and these people not only had no knowledge of the Ukrainian dialect but they found that dialect most inappropriate for correspondence between different Government departments on complicated technical questions. The intensified industrialization of the Ukraine was obviously destined to strengthen greatly all connections with the north and linguistic differences gave promise of frequent and annoying difficulties. Very soon the Ukrainian language came only to be used in the sphere of 'cultural relations'.

Meanwhile Kaganovich, in surveying the various aspects of 'ukrainization', began gradually to investigate the part played in different branches of the administration by 'Ukrainian nationalists' or those suspected of being such.

§7. 'THE REVOLUTION AGAINST THE PEASANTS': REPRESSION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM

665 423

In 1929 the Communist Revolution was approaching its second and decisive stage: Marxist principles which had conquered the life of the cities were to be imposed on the countryside. But the process of 'collectivizing' agriculture was to prove even more difficult in the Ukraine than it was in the provinces of Great Russia. Individual property in land had always been traditional in the Ukraine, and the background of the social history of the country had been the unending struggle of the peasantry to maintain their right to own the land they worked—against Polish landlords and Cossack and, later, Great Russian landlords. The strength of the Ukrainian peasantry had always been their stubborn determination that each should own his plot of land, and their weakness had been a love of individual freedom degenerating often enough into libertarian anarchy.

423 474

The outlook of the Ukrainian peasant differed widely from that of the Great Russian. The *obshchina*—the old Russian form of possessing (but not of working) land collectively—was unknown in the regions of Chernigov and Poltava and in all right-bank Ukraine. The creation of *kolkhozy* (collective farms) was from the beginning opposed, generally passively and sometimes actively, by the peasantry. And Kaganovich hastened, so soon as peasant opposition developed, to deprive the Ukrainians of the weapon which the national idea might provide. (In Caucasia and Turkestan, during the same period, opposition to collectivization was combined with a renascence and strengthening of local nationalist movements directed

4: Allen H-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

first place, but in its population was included the million inhabitants of the second capital of the Empire, while in Podolia there was no single town which numbered more than fifty thousand inhabitants. Density of population in Podolia reached the figure of 100 to the square kilometre, but the province was saved from the problems of over-population by the development of the large estates on capitalist lines. This process began about 1830 and developed on a large scale after 1870. The beet-sugar industry with its subsidiary alcoholic distilleries, flour mills and horticulture provided a variety of livelihood for a population which by 1897 had attained to nearly four and a half millions. Between the years 1896 and 1933 more than a million and a half peasants migrated from other districts of the Ukraine to Siberia and the steppes beyond the Volga, but in Podolia emigration was scarcely perceptible.

The southern part of the Government of Kiev along the right bank of the Dniepr enjoyed conditions somewhat similar to those in Podolia, while the northern districts resembled rather Volhynia. In the south a rich black earth supported a number of large estates where the beet-sugar industry, distilleries and mills flourished. In these southern districts were many well-to-do peasant farms covering up to 20 and 30 hectares apiece. Wheat was grown in sufficient quantities to satisfy local needs and to supply the six hundred thousand inhabitants of the city of Kiev. At the beginning of the century the population of the Government of Kiev amounted to over four and a half millions. At that time the three Governments of right-bank Ukraine (Kiev, Podolia, Volhynia) contained fourteen million inhabitants with an average density of 70–80 people per square kilometre. Such numbers were quite 'European' in their proportions and should have tended to discourage those Western dreamers who were even then casting envious eyes on the 'vacant lands' of the Ukraine.

It was almost equally difficult to discover 'vacant lands' in the Governments of *left-bank Ukraine*. In Poltava, Chernigov and Kharkov the density of population amounted to 60–70 people per square kilometre. The uninterrupted belt of black earth in the Governments of Poltava and Chernigov had been under the plough only since the seventeenth century—and many parts of it not before the eighteenth century. This was the land of which Alexey Tolstoy wrote: 'Know ye the land where all breathes plenty and content, where rivers flow as silver clear.' There were scarcely any towns of importance in this rural elysium. The characteristics of the Government of Kharkov, on the other hand, were quite distinct from those of the two adjoining left-bank provinces: in the north-west,

5: Manning S-4 (no date) 1953 RD1 Ukraine RD1

CHAPTER ELEVEN

The Famine, the Soviets and the World

It is impossible to overestimate the significance of this 73/
artificially induced famine in what had been one of the richest portions of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union. Taken in connection with the collectivization of agriculture which had served already to uproot and exile or liquidate many of the most industrious and successful parts of the population of the Ukraine, it was distinctly noticed that the history of the Soviet Union had entered a new phase which might be glossed over for public consumption but still represented a formidable menace to the general development of the entire area.

During the years of the New Economic Policy and the period of [178]
Ukrainization, much had been accomplished, not only to repair the damages of the Civil War and the period of Militant Communism, but great strides had been made in the development of Ukrainian culture. The collectivization of 1929-31 had, in a sense, menaced some of the economic gains but while the menace of Moscow was being felt on the material field, it had not hitherto been regarded in the same way culturally. It is true that there had been going on a great debate between Khvylovy and his rivals but it is doubtful if either Khvylovy or Skrypnyk had fully appreciated the forces that were now unleashed.

There had never been any question that every few decades Ukraine had undergone severe droughts which had produced local famines, especially in the Ukrainian steppes. The disorders of Militant Communism had coincided with one of these periods and had produced the situation in 1921-2. Still, at that time, for his own purposes, Lenin had allowed relief to be sent from abroad to the victims. The agricultural situation in 1931-3 was not so serious and

626 538 artistic enjoyment and it rendered it possible for the central government to abolish that sense of republican patriotism which had been so marked during the preceding period in all the non-Russian republics.

626 538 178 In place of the ideas of the old Ukrainian life which was being brought to an end by the compulsory collectivization and the establishment of the collective farms, in place of the old visions of the unity of the Ukrainian people and those ideals of a new national life that had dominated Ukrainian literature from the time of Shevchenko, in place of the efforts to establish in Ukrainian literature all those branches of art and culture which were stirring in Western Europe, there was now given to the writers, young and old, the command to celebrate and to glorify the actual process of socialist construction in Ukraine, as elsewhere. By 1934 Kulyk, as the organizer of the Ukrainian section, could write of the definite end of the old bourgeois nationalist sentiment as preached by Yefremiv and of the efforts of Khvylovy to reorient the psychology of Ukrainian literature on that of Europe. In his article on the modern Ukrainian literature in a volume on the *Literature of the Peoples of the USSR* published in 1934, he could pass over in silence, for obvious reasons, all of the great names which had appeared during the preceding ten years and shower his praise upon the young proletarian writers who were willing to follow blindly and, to the best of their ability, the new course.

There were, of course, some of the older and even of the more prominent men who were willing to compromise with the new regime. Among them the outstanding figures were Tychyna and Rylsky. Both of them, after consideration and treatment by the authorities, tried to bend their works to the new ideas but there were many who were unwilling or unable to be untrue to their artistic faith and for them there was not even the choice of silence or writing. They were compelled to conform or vanish and it was not long after the organization of the All-Union Society of Soviet Writers when this was made abundantly clear.

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

of new school texts in Ukrainian, as well as popular editions of Ukrainian works.[16] Still more important, it began the publication of a newspaper which stood head and shoulders above any other Ukrainian publication in the German-dominated areas. *Krakivs'ki Visti* (Cracow News, as it was named after the Germans forbade the use of "Ukrainian" in the title) was one of the few papers which did not become a party organ but consistently served as a forum for a broad variety of Ukrainian viewpoints. Moreover, it was the only paper of this nature which possessed considerable material resources and attracted numerous contributions from writers of real talent. It was subjected to a censorship stricter than that inflicted on Ukrainian papers in Greater Germany (although much less severe than that of the papers later established under German rule farther east); nevertheless, it was able to reflect a considerable range of Ukrainian life and thought. As a result it is an invaluable witness of the events of the war years.

From the standpoint of Ukrainian national interests, the favorable policy of the Germans toward the group's cultural development was particularly valuable in enabling it to regain some of the ground lost under the Polish repression. It would take a lengthy volume to detail the ways in which the Ukrainians were able to improve their situation in this respect during the early war years. A single statistic will suffice, however, to indicate the general nature of the gains made. In the school year 1942–43 there were 4,173 Ukrainian-language schools in the Generalgouvernement,[17] while on the corresponding territory before 1939 there were only 2,510—of which only 457 were exclusively Ukrainian.[18] The most marked advance took place in the Chelm area, where, in the autumn of 1939, a large influx of intellectuals fleeing Soviet rule in eastern Galicia brought a new vigor to the cultural life of the Ukrainian community.[19]

[16] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, January 2, 1942, p. 3.

[17] This refers of course to the enlarged Generalgouvernement, which included eastern Galicia. It is, however, indicative of an extension of the Ukrainian educational system which was if anything even more pronounced in the areas west of the San and the Bug.

[18] P. Isaiïv, article on Ukrainian schools in the Generalgouvernement during the Second World War, *Entsyklopediia Ukraïnoznavstva*, p. 952; Buell, p. 279. The remainder were "mixed" schools which Buell says were given over to Polish teachers.

[19] Iurii (George) Tarkovych, "Zabuti Zemli" (Forgotten Lands), *Krakivs'ki Visti*, May 10, 1942, p. 1.

575 first half of 1939 threatened the educational
871 work of the "Ridna Shkola" just as it did that of the women's society, the society of agriculturists, the "Provista" and the cooperatives.

The efforts of the Ukrainians to raise the
871 level of popular education are admirable. When
873 at the beginning of their rule in Galicia the Poles deprived the Ukrainians of their few professorial chairs, the Ukrainians forthwith founded a "Secret University" which gave its lectures during 1922 and 1923 in private houses. At the end of each lecture the professors who were taken partly from universities of East Ukraine, partly from Austrian universities, announced to their listeners the time and place of their next lecture. In the end this "university" collapsed and the lecturers were arrested.

873 Two years after the enactment of the Ukrain-
ian law of autonomy of 1922 a Ukrainian univer-
●178 sity was supposed to have been founded - but in the summer of 1939 there was not yet a single Ukrainian professorial chair. In Lwów a Polish professor lectured on Ukrainian literature in the
241 Polish language, in /Facing page 96/ /Map VII: Agricultural Zones Under Cultivation. In the wooded zones of the north rye, oats and potatoes predominate. In the northern zones of steppes, wheat and sugar beets are added (winter wheat in the west and summer wheat in the east). A third zone on the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov and in the foreland of the Caucasus produces wheat, corn and barley. Adjoining this toward the west there is a corn-growing zone (with wheat in the north and barley in the south), whereas toward the northeast there is a zone extending to the middle part of the Volga with summer wheat and rye. Around the Caspian Sea is the pasture area of desert steppes, in the mountains, woodland and grasslands with some barley cultivation. The cultivation of cotton which has been recently undertaken along the coasts of the Black Sea and

11: Obermaier--100 J-3(no date)1942 RD1UkraineRD1
[Bukovina]

241 the Sea of Azov also deserves to be mentioned./ /Key inside map: I Rye, potato and oats region. II Wheat and rye region; sub-zone of rye, wheat, potatoes; sub-zone of rye, winter wheat, sugar beets; sub-zone of summer wheat, rye, sugar beets. III Region of wheat, barley, corn; sub-zone of winter wheat, corn, barley, sunflowers. IV Summer wheat and rye zone; cotton. V Region of corn; sub-region of corn, wheat; sub-region of corn, barley. VI Oats and potato region. VII Forest region. VIII Grassland (pastures, alpine pastures, natural meadows). ++++ Area with abundant millet cultivation. ⊞ Area with abundant buckwheat cultivation. ....Northern boundary of region growing abundant amounts of corn. ⌇⌇⌇⌇ Intensive horticulture./ /97/ Cracow a Ukrainian
873 professor lectured in Polish on Ukrainian literature, and in Warsaw Polish and Ukrainian professors lectured in Polish on Ukrainian literature and "History of the East" which meant history of the Ukraine under Polish rule. Moreover, study in Lwów was made very difficult for Ukrainian students. Warsaw wanted the Ukrainians to study in Cracow and in the capital of the country, and to have them taken out of the Ukrainian environment and drawn into the Polish one. In this connection a secret numerus clausus proved very useful: the Ukrainians, in contrast to their smarter Polish colleagues often failed.

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101 How was the situation in Bukovina? This little country of 5000 square kilometers on the northeast slope of the Carpathians in between the three countries, Poland, Soviet Union and Rumania, was, until its transfer to the Habsburg Kingdom in 1776, purely a colonial country of the Sublime Porte. Under Austria it experienced a rapid rise, and its chief city Czernovits (now Chernovtsy) was given the epithet "Vienna of the

533 lieves that song is a part of work, and he has special symbolic songs for every type of work.

527 769 The Monday a week after Easter is dedicated to the ancestors. Well supplied with food and drink, the whole families set out for the cemeteries, just as in the days of Vladimir, in order to observe the death cult. They sit down on the graves of their ancestors, eat the food they have brought, share it with the dead by placing the latters' portion beside the Christian cross made of wood, and they do not forget to empty a small glass of horilka over it. The dead are honored if the visitors leave their graves in an elevated mood.

776 Summer passes by with the customary field work. It is a glorious time, the pumpkins and the melons ripen, the hollyhocks bloom again and people sleep out in the open. The harvest begins not without symbolic rituals; for the spirits must be thanked and one must pray for good weather. When the grain has been stored in the barns, the priest consecrates the harvest wreath, the grains of which are mixed among the seed the following year.

793 In the midst of this strange pagan-Christian world, the priest lives and works as the representative of Christ on earth. He knows the customs of the people from the time he is a child, and he joins in on many occasions. It is not sacrilegious when during a difficult birth he places the church key on the belly of the woman in labor, when he administers the Holy Sacrament to sick cattle or seals graves so that the dead may not /140/ return. Both shepherd and flock most earnestly believe that such deeds are efficacious and pleasing in the sight of God.

771 The First World War, the civil wars and finally the Bolshevist cudgel have destroyed this 178 world; faith and superstition, holy mass and the spirit cult were no longer tolerated.

/141/ Hunger Overcomes Resistance

•178 Bolshevism tore the Ukrainians away from their past and hurled them, as it were, into a dark, unknown future. They were thrown from one extreme into the other, not only with regard to religion, but also in a social, economic and political respect. They were thrown from unlimited individualism into a society where all are supposed to be equal.

When Bolshevik slogans spread through the Ukrainian villages there was a great deal that was
423 ripe for oblivion. Czarist Moscow, the great princes of the Church and the wealthy gentry had exerted themselves precisely to keep the populace in a state of ignorance and to prevent any kind of enlightenment. The masses were thus more tractable and the existing order was not endangered. Nevertheless, with thrift and industry the peasants had succeeded in considerably enlarging their land after serfdom was abolished in 1861, to the
[162] detriment of the landed proprietors. In 1861 the peasants owned 45.7% of 48.1 million hectares, in 1916 they owned 65%. (84) The rest was the prop-

84. Kubiyovich: Geography of the Ukrainian and Bordering Areas, page 360.

erty of the lords of the manor, the church and the state.

423 With the rapid increase in population there
241 was a great land shortage, especially in North Ukraine, even after the distribution of land in 1861. Conditions had not improved much since 1830, when the representative of the nobility of the Poltava district reported in the Senate that in his district "there was a perceptible shortage of land and dire poverty". (85) In Podolia,

85. Veit: Farming Economy and Agrarian Set-up of South Ukraine, page 32.

728 178 The progress in construction and rehabilitation which has taken place since the incorporation of this region into the Ukraine was revealed at a meeting of the Soviet of Nationalities on October 16, 1946, when the representative of the Transcarpathian Ukraine summed up the achievements in 1946. Nearly 300 enterprises had been restored, and nine machine and tractor stations had been set up to assist the peasants in working [212 the fields. Much had been done in 1946 to abolish illiteracy; there 871] were opened over 100 schools, including 75 elementary, seven technical, 27 secondary, four music schools for children, and one school for surgeons' assistants and midwives.

433 At the end of December it was stated that 35 new factories had started functioning in the Transcarpathian Region in 1946[1]. Moreover, as compared with 1945 when there was not a single coal mine, 8 mines were working in 1946. There had also been definite progress in building up consumer goods industries. A clothing and a shoe factory had begun working in Vinogradov, and a knitted goods mill in Mukachevo. Some 200 light industries have been opened in various parts of the region.

Population of the Ukraine

162 The Ukraine is inhabited largely by Ukrainians, and also by Russians, Jews, and Poles. Most of the population is literate, and in 1939 there were many technical and vocational schools, as well as scientific research institutes and about 40,000 libraries.

At the census of January 17, 1939 the Ukrainian S.S.R. had 30,960,221 inhabitants; an increase of 6.6 per cent. as compared with December 1926. The greatest increase had occurred in the towns, largely as a result of the migration of country people to new industries. Thus from 1926 to 1939 the urban population more than doubled (5,373,553 to 11,195,620) while the number of rural inhabitants decreased by 16½ per cent. (23,669,381 to 19,764,601).

000 The same was true for the entire Soviet Union. From 147,027,915 in December 1926, its total population increased by 15.9 per cent. to 170,467,186 in January 1939, the urban population having grown from 26.3 million to 55.9 millions; and the rural population having fallen from 120.7 million to 114.5 million.

162 [361] The principal cities of the Ukraine with their population on January 17, 1939, are Kiev, the capital (population, 846,293), Kharkov, capital of the Ukraine before 1934 (833,432), the part of Odessa on the Black Sea (604,223), Dniepropetrovsk on the Dnieper River (500,662), Stalino, industrial centre of the Donets Basin (462,395), and Nikolayev (167,108).

In January 1939 the urban population of the Ukraine was 36.2 per

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1 Soviet Monitor, London, December 29, 1946.

311 Despite a certain reduction in the area under cultivation in the 241 Ukraine, (25,124,900 hectares in 1937 as compared with 26,438,400 in [407] 1932), production rose considerably, reflecting great progress in the mechanization of agriculture. The number of tractors increased from [475] 51,300 in 1932 to 83,900 in 1937. The number of harvesting combines increased in the same period from 4,900 to 26,700. The number of Machine and Tractor Stations grew from 657 to 958. The mechanization of agriculture in the Ukrainian S.S.R. is shown in the following table, which compares the output of energy from draught animals with the energy derived from machines, both in the Ukrainian Republic and in the entire Soviet Union. (It should be noted that, according to Soviet practice, the output of energy is measured in kilowatt hours.)

TABLE V

Output of Energy in Agriculture, 1938
(million kwh)

	Ukrainian S.S.R.	Total Soviet Union
[407 Energy from machines	4,211	19,304.2
379] Energy from draught cattle	1,662	14,667.5
Total output of energy in agriculture	5,873	33,971.7

Source : Planned Economy XII, Moscow, 1940.

[178] As the table shows, the percentage of mechanization in the Ukraine was greater than in the entire Soviet Union.

Agricultural Development of the Incorporated Territories

311 425 723 According to the Concise Yearbook of Poland, London, 1941, there were in 1938 over four million hectares of arable land and 190,000 hectares of orchards and market gardens in Western Ukraine. The principal crops grown were wheat, rye, barley, oats, potatoes, and sugar beet.

Before 1939 farming in Western Ukraine was carried out on a very primitive level. After the incorporation of this region into the Ukrainian Republic, however, great changes were made. On October 28, 1939, the People's Assembly of Western Ukraine decreed the confiscation of large land estates, and subsequently, according to the Moscow periodical, Soviet State and Law (1941-III), over one million hectares were distributed among 400,000 landless farm workers and small holders. Similar changes occurred in the other incorporated territories. In the northern part of Bukovina, (in the Chernovitsy Province joined to the Ukraine) 200,000 hectares were distributed among landless workers, while in the Izmail (former Akkerman) Province, Bessarabia, 65,000 hectares were divided.

474 241 178 Apart from the confiscation of large estates and the re-distribution of the land, two further processes could be observed in these areas from the time of their incorporation until Germany attacked the U.S.S.R.: the organization of peasant holdings into collective farms, and the increased mechanization of agriculture. By September 1940 there were 400 collective farms in Western Ukraine; by January 1, 1941, the number had increased to 571, in which there were organized 34,000 peasant farm holdings. (These numbers do not include 535 "initiative" groups for the creation of collective farms with 14,000 peasant farm holdings.) In Northern Bukovina (according to the same source Soviet State and Law, 1941-III) the first seven collective farms with 3,000 hectares were also founded.

475 407 Mechanization also advanced rapidly. In the western part of the Ukraine 170 Machine and Tractor Stations were established in the first year of incorporation into the Republic. In 1941 in the Izmail Province, 27 Machine Tractor Stations were being built, and in the Chernovitsy Province, 13.

475 407 652 In the Transcarpathian region (incorporated into the Ukraine in June, 1945), nine Machine and Tractor Stations were established in 1946 to assist the work of the fields. The Five-Year Plan 1946-50 provides for special attention to the farms of Transcarpathian Ukraine in the form of machines, fertilizers and credits to increase agricultural production in this region, the pre-war output of which was as follows.

361 is a wide boulevard bordered with beautiful flowers. Across the river,
341 to the left from a bridge, is a colourful little church in Russian style—a miniature replica of a Moscow *cerkev*—a piece of the Orient in a western setting. It is a delightful building coloured in dull red and white, and has a burnished cupola at the top which reflects the sun in a dazzling blaze. The interesting ikons in the interior match the fairy-tale beauty of its exterior. What a lively contrast to the dignified, twin-spired Greek Catholic cathedral and the surrounding ecclesiastical buildings on the opposite side of the river.

162 There are at least four religions in Užhorod, as well as in other
563 Ruthenian towns, and five languages are spoken there—Ruthenian, Czech, Slovak, Hungarian and Yiddish.

While Ruthenia has no mineral wealth comparable to that of
135 Slovakia, it supplies the entire Republic with salt. In the eastern tip
317 of the country, right on the Rumanian frontier, there are huge deposits of mineral salt in the neighbourhood of Slatinské Doly. Although only two mines are now being worked, the annual output amounts to about 120,000 tons of salt. The huge vaulted caves of these mines afford an imposing view from a gallery which rises at a considerable height above the bottom where the miners quarry large blocks of rock-salt, cut them into small blocks, and have them hoisted through the shaft to the surface. The mineral salt which is crushed in a salt-mill is only slightly impure and requires little cleaning.

317 Salt represents the mineral wealth of Carpathian Ruthenia. But it
263 is a commodity which the poor Ruthenian peasants and wood-cutters cannot afford. In order to spice their simple and meagre food the countryfolk journey a day or two to a pool of salt-water to fill a barrel with the liquid salt.

178 To appreciate the degree of progress Carpathian Ruthenia made
511 during the twenty years of its association with Czechoslovakia, one has
185 to bear in mind the condition of this forgotten country when it first appeared on the map as a political unit. The dire poverty, the low standard of education among the majority of the population, lack of cultural amenities, infectious diseases due to abominable sanitary conditions, inadequate communications, economic and political exploitation — all these factors made the life of the Ruthenians under the Carpathian mountains rather desolate.

President Masaryk once said that thirty years of peaceful, reasonable and energetic development would be needed to make the Czechoslovak State secure and happy. Carpathian Ruthenia certainly needed thirty, if not more, years of peaceful, reasonable and energetic development to emerge from her condition of poverty and primitiveness.

744 One of the worst evils was the appalling sanitary conditions in
164 Ruthenia. The rate of infant mortality was among the highest in